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STATEMENT BY MR. M. ALKATIRI,
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FOR EXTERNAL RELATIONS,
DELIVERED BEFORE THE 4TH COMMITTEE
OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 35TH SESSION

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M. ALKATIRI 10/30 U.N. STATEMENT

Mr. Chairman, distinguished delegates:

In addressing this committee, my delegation wishes to extend to the Algerian delegation our profound grief for the tragedy that struck the Algerian people, causing thousands of dead and homeless. We, the East Timorese people, and all peoples of the Third World, feel deeply attached to the great Algerian nation. The Algerian people, under the leadership of the Party of National Liberation Front, have consented many sacrifices, and given enormous support to so many struggling nations around the world. Today, in this hour of grief, we are in total solidarity with the Algerian people.

Mr. Chairman, my delegation wishes to congratulate you for your election to preside over the work of the 4th Committee during this 35th session of the General Assembly. We, the people of East Timor, the Central Commitee of FRETILIN, and all colonised peoples around the world, rejoice with your election to the Chairmanship of this important commitee because your career as a diplomat, your life as a man and professional, have been in the service of the just aspirations of the great nation of Guyana and all just causes.

We wish to express also our respects, admiration and friendship to your predecessor, our brother Thomas Boya, the distinguished Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Benine, whose presidency of the 4th Committee last year must be credited with the highest marks for his diplomatic ability, correct and energetic leadership, and total dedication to the problems of decolonization, self-determination, and independence.

Mr. Chairman, distinguished delegates:

This year, the international community is celebrating the 20th anniversary of the United Nations General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), of 14 December 1960. We recall that

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this resolution was introduced by the Socialist countries and backed by the Third World at a time when colonialism was still in full force all over the world. Resolution 1514 became the hallmark of the long process of decolonization which began after World War Two and contributed to the end of colonial domination in many parts of the world. Resolution 1514 became, therefore, a sacred historical foundation of the United Nations Organization whose very existence and purposes are based on the principles of justice, peace, self--determination, independence and freedom for all peoples around the world.

When the international community celebrates the 20th anniversary of resolution 1514, it should do so with the feeling of satisfaction for, over the past twenty years, the membership of the Organization increased from sixty to 152. This is, no doubt, a tremendous achievement of the whole mankind.

However, Mr. Chairman and distinguished delegates, there are still some territories and peoples under colonial and foreign domination and oppression. This is the case of East Timor. And the case of East Timor is the most tragic one. On 7 December 1975, East Timor was invaded by the armed forces of Indonesia, under the pretext of "liberating" the East Timorese people from "Portuguese colonialism" at a time when the new Government in Lisbon, in compliance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), decided to grant self--determination and independence to the people of the territory. Indonesia's military intervention was carried out with a clear purpose: to challenge the process of decolonization initiated by the Portuguese Government. No one in East Timor solicited Indonesia's intervention to "liberate" us from "Portuguese colonialism". All the East Timorese political groupings in the territory were cooperating with the Portuguese authorities in order to work-out a comprhensive programme of decolonization, leading to free elections, with direct participation of the entire population, without external

interference. Regardless of the excuses and arguments, Indonesian military invasion of East Timor was a clear-cut act of military aggression, a gross violation of the United Nations Charter, and of International Law. Suffice is to say that the Security Council, meeting at the request of Portugal, as the "Admnistering Power" of East Timor adopted unanimously resolution 384 (1975) on 22 December 1975, which states in its operative paragraphs:

1.Call upon all States to respect the territorial integrity of East Timor as well as the inalienable right of its people to self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

2.Call upon the Government of Indonesia to withdraw without delay all its forces from the Territory.

A second Security Council resolution was adopted on 22 April 22 1976, calling upon the Government of Indonesia to "withdraw without further delay all its forces from the Territory". (Security Council resolution 389).

Indonesia's response to the unanimous Security Council resolution was to increase its military aggression against the people of East Timor. Thousands of people were killed, tens of thousands of families were left homeless. Entire villages were razed, and crops destroyed. The crimes committed by the Government of Indonesia, and the destruction perpetrated by its invading army, turned East Timor, once a bounty land, into a prairie of fire and destruction, with no precedent in the entire history of the island.

The United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted a total of seven resolutions on the question of East Timor, reaffirming the right of the people of the territory to self-determination and independence, and calling upon the Government of Indonesia to withdraw its troops from East Timor. The Vth and the VIth Summits of Head of States or Governments of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Sri Lanka

and Cuba, in 1976 and 1979, respectively, reaffirmed the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence, and affirmed the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on the question of East Timor.Further, throughout the world, Governments, political parties in the Western countries, religious organizations, such as the World Council of Churches, Trade Unions, student's Organizations, Human Rights Groups, have repetedly condemned Indonesia's military intervention in East Timor and demanded the withdrawl of its troops from the territory. However, the Government of Indonesia has defied the entire international community in a very arrogant manner, and has continued its military operations.

Five years after Indonesia's invasion of East Timor or of Indonesia's "liberation" of the East Timorese people from "Portuguese colonialism", the result speaks for itself: One--third of the population of the territory have died from the war, famine caused by deliberate destruction of crops, diseases for lack of medical assistance, mass executions, chemical weapons, such as napalm, defoliants and poisoned gas.

Mr. Chairman, distinguihed delegates:

The Government of Indonesia has talked much about a certain "people's assembly" which supposedly decided to incorporate East Timor in Indonesia, on 31 May 1976. In a futile attempt to win some sort of legitimacy to its annexation of East Timor, the Government of Indonesia hand-picked puppets in Dili, and with them it set up a so-called "people's assembly". No elections took place even in Dili itself. Suffice is to say that even the US State Department - which has been always too inclined to support Indonesia's position - refuse to accept Indonesian claims that the people of East Timor had decided freely to accept Indonesia's incorporation of their territory. During recent hearings in Washington,DC, the Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Mr.

Richard Holbrooke, testifying before the Sub-Committee on Foreign Operations of the House Appropriations Committee of the United States Congress, on 10 June 1980, acknowledged that no act of self-determination took place in East Timor.

Further, the Special Commitee on Decolonization did not take part in any procedings leading up to the formation of the so-called "people's assembly", and the Security Council resolutions 384 (1975) and 389 (1976) had not - and have not - been complied with by the Government of Indonesia. Therefore, any claim by the Government of Indonesia that the people of East Timor have decided to accept the annexation of their territory, by force of arms, is absurd and ridiculous.

The international community should be aware by now of the many tricks played by illegal and repressive regimes to cover up their neo-colonial designs. It is too fresh in our mind, the futile attempts by the now defunct regime of Ian Smith--Muzorewa to win international legitimacy with an "internal setlement". In Namibia, the racist regime of Pretoria has been trying for years to deny the Namibian people their sacred right to self-determination. It is ironic - to say the least - to see Indonesia represented in the Special Commitee on Decolonization and in the Council for Namibia...Where is the morality of the Government of Indonesia to speak on matters of decolonization when it is denying the people of East Timor their right to self-determination? Where is the morality of the Government of Indonesia to criticise the racist regime of South Africa for not complying with the United Nations General Assembly resolutions, when both, Pretoria and Jakarta, are guilty of the same arrogant defiance of the United Nations resolutions? Where is the morality of the Government of Indonesia to talk about Israeli annexation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip while it annexed East Timor by brutal force and annihilated one third of the population of the territory? How can the Representative of Indonesia seat confortably in the Special Commitee on decolonization or in the Council for Namibia and speak on the principles of self-determination and independen-

ce, when the Government of Indonesia has trampled upon all United Nations resolutions on the question of East Timor, and has been responsible for the death of One third of the entire population of the terrtory, a tragedy which is of greater magnitude than the tragedy of the South African people or the Namibian, or the Palestinian people, in terms of number of people killed?

Mr. Chairman, distinguished delegates:

Very often, we hear also the Indonesian Representatives claiming "achievements" in East Timor. Few more roads were built; one or two scholls were inaugurated; a soccer field and a new foot-ball team ready for a good show; "boys-scouts" have been established; etc. All this would serve to justify Indonesian annexation of East Timor, and the slaughter of tens of thousands of East Timorese people. Following Indonesia's logic, the racist regime of South Africa should just build few more roads, schools, some soccer field, and the whole problem of majority rule would be solved. Still following Indonesia's logic, African peoples need not fight for independence because their European colonisers could just offer them few good roads, schools, and help them organise their own boys-scoutt teams...We wonder, what suggestions the Indonesian Representative has offered to the Council for Namibia or the Special Committee on Decolonization about what to demand from South Africa. Following the reasoning of the Government of Indonesia, the Council for Namibia and SWAPO should be contented in extracting some "concessions" from South Africa for the building of a few more footbal field in Windhoek, few more schools, etc.

The Government of Indonesia seems to want to make a mokery of the United Nations, the Charter, resolution 1514, and the sacred rights of peoples to determine their own future. The people of East Timor have not been able to exercise freely their right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV). For five years the people of East Timor have been fighting heroicaly for their sacred rights,

and they are continuing to wage a heroic resistance against the foreign aggressors. In spite of some difficulties, in terms of military supplies, the people of East Timor, under FRETILIN leadership, have achieved great victories. In the course of this year, the East Timorese National Liberation Army - FALINTIL - inflicted heavy casualties on the Indonesia army, and destroyed a big number of armoured cars, trucks, and military instalations. We offer now a chronology of FRETILIN military operations against the enemy's army in the course of the first nine months of this year:

January 5. A major FRETILIN attack against an Indonesian military convoy on the road from Dili to Manatuto left 20 Indonesian soldiers dead. The ten-vehicle convoy was caught in a narrow passage and was completely destroyed. During the month of February, several mutinies took place in Indonesian military barracks. A shoot-out ensued when some soldiers refused to obey an order to march into a FRETILIN stronghold in the Lospalos region. Several soldiers were killed or wounded, while others fled into the bush and joined FRETILIN forces. During the month of March, the FALINTIL forces launched a series of small-scale attacks against Indonesian positions in Ermera, Hatolia, Railaiku, and Letefoho. On April 25, the town of Lospalos was the target of mortar barrage. The shells exploded inside an Indonesian military barrack, killing nd wounding 50 soldiers. The same day, an Indonesian helicopter was shot down in the outskirts of the town. All occupants were killed. May 1st: An Indonesian convoy of three trucks, one armoured car, one armoured car, and 20 soldiers were ambushed on the road from Dili to Aileu. All vehicles were destroyed, and the occupants killed. FRETILIN forces recovered all the available weaponry. May 20, the sixth anniversary of the independence struggle, FALINTIL soldiers marked this historical date with several attacks against Indonesian military units located in Lospalos, Railaco, Same and Maliana. A total of 100 Indonesian soldiers were killed.

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The most serious FRETILIN operation was carried out on the night of June 9th to 10th against Indonesian positions in the occupied capital. More than 200 FRETILIN soldiers took part in a three-pronged attack against an Indonesian military unit stationed in the outskirts of the capital, a local TV station, while the third group blocked the exits of the city. The Indonesian military unit in Dare, some six miles south of Dili, was overrun by FRETILIN forces and held for several hours. Hundreds of villagers who came from the mountains with the freedom-fighters carried away boxes of ammunition, rifles, hand grenades, and other types of weaponry. In the meantime, the local TV station was the target of attack with bazookas. Four Indonesian soldiers were killed. The third FRETILIN group caused severe casualties on Indonesian reinforcements sent to help the beleagered units.

This FRETILIN attack, launched against Indonesian forces right in the occupied capital, caught the Indonesians completely by surprise. The next day, top Indonesian officers from the Bali Regional Division flew to East Timor to assess the situation and to boost the morale of the army. Three days later, warships arrived from Lombok, an Indonesian naval base, with a reinforcement of 40 tanks and 2,000 "marines". Reinforcements came also from West Timor, over land across the border.

In retaliation, hundreds of villagers were rounded up and tortured. All the houses in the hills surrounding the capital were burnt to ground.

During the months of July, August and September - a period of dry season which favours Indonesian troop movement - FRETILIN scaled down its military activities. Still, several Indonesian military convoys were ambushed and destroyed between Dili and Aileu, and between Dili and Manatuto during that three--month period. With the begining of the wet season, FRETILIN forces will again take the offensive.

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Several major Western newspapers - Le Monde, of Paris, Manchester Guardian of Great Britain, The New York Times - have published several reports, confirming the revigoration of FRETILIN forces and the increase in military clashes this year. The New York Times, in an editorial on July 25, 1980, says:"Despite claims (by Indonesia) that the territory has been 'pacified', FRETILIN leaders credibly assert that guerrillas have resumed their fight and have been able to strike at Dili, Timor's capital".

On July 29, New York Times published a story from its correspondent, James Markham, who writes:"The Indonesian casualties which ran as high as 50 to 100 a week were reportedly ferried to Dili from the countryside by helicopter, and evacuated by Hercules C-130 to Java...Most suffer from bullet and mortar wounds...".

Mr. Chairman, distinguished delegates:

The struggle of the people of East Timor is gaining international simpathy. Here in United States, there is a growing body of public opinion, opposing US military support to Indonesia. A "sense of the House", signed by 55 Congressmen calls on the President of United States to "encourage the Government of Indonesia to withdraw its troops from East Timor and to allow an internationally supervised election in which the East Timorese can freely exercise their right to self-determination".(April 16,1980, Congressional Record, E-1811). Senator Edward Kennedy, speaking in the Congress, called upon the President of United States to "give strong diplomatic support to efforts to bring peace as well as relief to the people of East Timor".(Congressional Record,S-16795,6;November 15, 1979).

Senator Edward Kennedy also succeeded in persuading President Carter to include the question of East Timor in the Democratic Party platform which was adopted by the Democratic Convention, held in New York City, during the month of August.

Numerous other proeminent American Congressmen and Senators, as well as a growing number of religious organizations, University students throughout United States, well-known schollars, are now actively campaigning to encourage the US Admnistration to review its military support to Indonesia.

On October 19 and 20, an international conference on East Timor took place in New York City. In late September, another international seminar was held in Amsterdam to discuss the question of East Timor. These two conferences brought together hundreds of delegates from all over the world.

Although the war in East Timor has been sustained by United States, and although tens of thousands of East Timorese have been killed by weapons suppplied by the American Admnistration, we have faith in the generosity, humanity and goodness of the American people. We are confident that the East Timor solidarity movement in this country will grow stronger and stronger. And the American Admnistration will then have to reconsider its military support to a repressive regime which is alienated from its own people, a regime which, in the long run, will also alienate the United States from the Indonesian people.

We believe that United States best interests are not served by supporting Indonesia's military aggression against our country and people. United States supported Indonesia's own struggle for independence in the fourties. Today, United States should play the same constructive role by encouraging the Government of Indonesia to comply with the international community calls for an end to the war in East Timor, and for self-determination for the people of the territory.

The countries of Western Europe should also play a positive role in order to end the war in East Timor. The Government of Indonesia is dependent on the Western economic and military support for its survival. Therefore, all the industrialised countries should encourage their Indonesian friends to abide

by the rule of international Law, and to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

As it happens throughout the world, the Indonesian people are learning the truth about the war in East Timor. Thousands of Indonesian soldiers have been killed or severely wounded in a foreign war, on a foreign soil, where people speak a different language, and have different culture and history. Thousands of Indonesian families are now mourning a relative who was killed in East Timor. The Press in Indonesia cannot report on the war. To oppose the war openly is to face the charge of "treason" which means jail or death. The Government has been trying to hide the war from its own people. However, the longer it goes on, the more difficult it will be for the Government to suppress the news about the war.

We believe that it is time for the Government in Indonesia to acknowledge its historical mistake and to begin a new chapter in its history. We believe that the interests of the Indonesian Republic will be best served if the Government has the wisdom and the courage to disengage itself from the East Timor war, and to begin a new era. The leadership of FRETILIN, and the people of East Timor, in spite of the enormous suffering we have endured over the past five years, will be prepared to bury the past, and to rebuild, with our Indonesian neighbour and all the countries in the region, a new era of peace and prosperity. Indonesia will have only to win, if its Government has the courage and the wisdom to pull out from East Timor. Indonesia will regain its international credibility and will have a credible voice in the Non-Aligned Movement. Millions of dollars, thousands of lives can be saved. More important, Indonesia and the countries of the region will win a friendly neighbour, whose leadership will endeavour to cooperate to strengthen peace, economic and social prosperity in Southeast Asia.

The Portuguese Government is now offering a proposal which

could lead to peace. The leadership of FRETILIN welcomes the fact that the Portuguese Government is willing to assume its moral, historical and legal responsibilities over East Timor, and to stand for the East Timorese people's right to self-determination and independence. We remain ready for dialogue with the Government of Portugal and with all Governments directly concerned in order to create conditions for a speedy and full implementation of all United Nations relevant resolutions on the question of East Timor.

The people of East Timor have been fighting and dying for their most sacred rights. Tens of thousands of East Timorese have died heroically so that East Timor will be free, independent, and sovereign. Faithful to the glorious tradition of our belove people, the leadership of FRETILIN will not deviate from the very principles for which so many of our people have shed so much blood.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.